1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety, those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

Most direct

622 [191 177] commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 648 [334] community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[578] [152] [191]

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

[181] [114]

/15/

342
361

3 This one has six type II 1a habitations laid out, at the end of our observations, along the bank as plan No. 1 shows.[1] At the beginning of our observations the habitation of the chief -- and at the time shaman -- of the community was located to the side and approximately 100 meters to the east of the other habitations.

5 Community No. 5 formerly formed one and the same community, No. 7. It was created at the beginning of our observations by Ramón Beltran, who no longer wanted to accept the authority of Pedro Ramón Camacho, capitán mayor.

578
631

6a and b In each of its successive sites -- (a): a sand dune on the right bank of the Capanaparo about 30 meters from the water and (b): a sandy shore on the island facing it -- the community has no permanent shape except for three type II 1a habitations (plans No. 2 and 3). The fourth, shown on plan No. 2, was built by the inhabitants of community No. 8 for a temporary stay. Habitation No. I, for the chief and shaman of the community, is larger than the others.

8 This community has two large type I habitations, the base and roofing of which, however, are rectangular at one end and rounded at the other.

9 The three large type I habitations of this community are more comfortable in appearance than the normal, but their deficient height does not allow a man to stand up in it.

11 The chief of the community lives in Vuelta Mala 2.

[1] [see p. 130. -Author]